We
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

164 Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
511 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
●661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

Wav

783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

● [661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

Wa

592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1 [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]]

634 Until
632 not so long ago there were three radjas there:
197 Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble
over putting Sikka in full power. This has
never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch
were a bit mad to chop things up this way.
When he was new here the Assistant Resident
sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situa-
tion was. He found that the kapitan there had
had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning
them to say that everything was all right.
Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came
out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they
liked and took their word to the effect that
their areas were much larger than they actually
were. (But why not try to make a better go of
it later on, when they still were able to do
as they pleased?) There is little excuse for
the stupidity of the government. He has also
● [661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to
the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and
others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the
dirty work which goes on among the radjas.
This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when
it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug
of war between teams of jail birds. They do this
with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of
soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
624 with these inferior informants again after work-
ing with the guru Roy, but the secretary is bet-
ter now since the kapitan is not here. Today
two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were pre-
sent and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo.
His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is
one kilometer up hill from the road. However,
he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is
away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

000 showing the basis of the elective system here.

In regard to Roti, the radio repair man said that there are seventeen radjas in the island, and all are jealous of each other's rights. It is more civilized than Savu, where there are still plenty of pagans. In both islands the main food in the mountains is sugar water. And the islands are so overpopulated that they will fight even over a bit of wood to cook sugar from a palm. This is why, Arriens says, so many people from Roti are outside, and many of them are in the government too. They are clever and are forced to leave because of the population problem.

Roti is hard to deal with as they are always having lawsuits. Every new controleur is the signal for all of the old cases to be brought up again, for generations back. The recent controleur broke down under the strain. They also spied on him, even looking at what his boy bought in the market. They are terrible troublemakers. I remember Nunuhitu saying in Makassar that his family was just getting under way again on an old lawsuit, and this time he was determined to win. Thus it is an example of the feud pattern under the pressure of great need. And there is some of the clan business too.

634 The radjas here are operating on a small
● 661 scale, and have to make their own way, for example, Nageh has plenty of gold articles, but it is ceremonial property and cannot be sold. He has part share in a movie in Ende, along with the Chinese. The Radjas of Sikka and Larantuka are evidently in a smuggling business and in also on the sale of distribution supplies with the Chinese.

511 Why don't the children have their noses
515 blown? Mrs. Arriens has a good answer, aside from general filth. It is that there is no

R

000 tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

Thus ended my work in Roworeke, a trying
164 place. The last day, Sunday, I again had to go to Ndona to get the old dukun, who was coming to give the kepala kampong a final treatment. The old man looked at me with bleary eyes as he entered the jeep for the second time in his life (and probably the last), and he seemed a bit less scared. He took my hand to help him in. What was he thinking, if anything, about this which was probably his first direct meeting with a white man? I later asked the doctor in Ende what could have been the illness that caused the nose hemorrhage, and he said it was surely malaria tropica.

[26]
●661 I had to take a last photograph of the kapitan, with his new bike, (and the giri tumba and a few others). The bike, Arriens[1] says, has been quite a case. Evidently the kapitan was avid for one and bought one for fl. 300.00. He then told the Radja and the latter scolded him, as he said he should have it for only fl. 150.00 on the distributie. Arriens said that he did not know about all of this when the kapitan and the Radja appeared and the Radja said why not give this man a bike. Arriens said that several other kapitan were in line for bikes ahead of him. However, the Radja said that the kapitan was doing good work and should have one. As I see the game, the kapitan, if he received the distributie bike, might sell the other one and get back something. Perhaps the Radja likes to keep one Christian kapitan, or perhaps the kapitan does good work. Or perhaps he is so dumb that he makes for little trouble.

651 Today, Sunday, the kapitan said there was plenty of trouble, because about fifty men say they will not pay taxes. He says it is because they think merdeka means no payment of taxes.

[1] [i.e. Controleur at Ende --Analyst]

We

621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
●661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[1][i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We
621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
●661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and
paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas)[3]. It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[4] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2:Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

We

425 624 565 634 661 stand with the families and get a share, like any ordinary person? This led to the usual wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he came through. The truth is that the kraeng don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan [578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas 1
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Archivist]

We.

864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 565 634 621 567 There have been no changes in the last fifty years in regard to social classes here, except that the kraengs have lost their power, and that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang, ata sekontu, ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 567 661 178 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in slaves (taki). It is remembered that three men from Veol were taken off in this fashion, but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.

[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"